NOMINATION OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY, SEPT. 8

government was a series of the series of the

Striking Phrases from President McKinley's Letter.

It will be noted that the (Democratic) demand is for the immediate restora-tion of the free coinage of silver at 16 to 1. If another issue is paramount, this is immediate. It will admit of no delay and will suffer no postponement.

We accept the issue and again invite the sound money forces to join in winning another and we hope a permanent triumph for an honest financial system which will continue inviolable the public faith.

It is our purpose to establish in the Philippines a government suitable to the wants and conditions of the inhabitants, and to prepare them for self-government, and to give them self-government when they are ready for it, and as rapidly as they are ready for it.

There has been no time since the destruction of the enemy's fleet when we could or should have left the Philippine archipelago. After the treaty of peace was ratified no power but Congress could surrender our sovereignty or alienate a foot of the territory thus acquired.

Every effort has been directed to their (Filipinos) peace and prosperity, their advancement and well-being, not for our aggrandizement or for pride of might, not for trade or commerce, not for exploitation, but for humanity and civilization.

The American question is between duty and desertion. The American verdict will be for duty and against desertion, for the republic against both anarchy and

Honest co-operation of capital is necessary to meet new business conditions, and extend our rapidly increasing foreign trade, but conspiracies and combinations intended to restrict business, create monopolies and control prices should be effectively restrained.

Unless something unforeseen occurs to reduce our revenues or increase our expenditures, the Congress at its next session should reduce taxation very materially.

We ought to own the ships for our carrying trade with the world, and we ought to build them in American shipyards and man them with American sallors.

For labor a short day is better than a short dollar.

tories hereby ceded to the United States shall be determined by the Congress." Eleven days thereafter, on Dec. 21, the following direction was given to the command er of our forces in the Philippines:

"The military commander of the United States is enjoined to make known to the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands that, in succeeding to the sovereignty of Spain, in severing the former political relations of the fuhabitants and in establishing a new political power, the authority of the United States is to be exerted for the securing of the persons and property of the people of the islands and for the confirmation of all their private rights and relations. It will be the duty of the commander of the forces of occupation to announce and proclaim in the most public manner that we come not as invaders or conquerors, but as friends, to protect the natives in their homes, in their employments and in their personal and re-

Sent a Commission.

In order to facilitate the most humans pacific and effective extension of authority throughout these islands, and to secure, with the least possible delay, the benefits of a wise and generous protection of life and property to the inhabitants, I appointed in January, 1899, a commission consisting of Gould Schurman of New York, Admiral George Dewey, U. S. N.; Charles Denby of Indiana, Professor Dean C. Wor-cester of Michigan, and Major General El-S. A. Their instructions contained the following:

"In the performance of this duty the commissioners are enjoined to meet at the earliest possible day in the city of Manila, and to announce by public proclamation their presence and the mission intrusted to them, carefully setting forth that, while the military government already proclaimed is to be maintained and continued so long as necessity may require, efforts will be made to alleviate the burden of taxation, to establish industrial and commercial prosperity, and to provide for the safety of persons and conducive to these ends.

Given Careful Instructions.

The commissioners will endeavor, with out interference with the military authorities of the United States now in control of the Philippines, to ascertain what ameliora tion in the condition of the inhabitants and what improvements in public order may be practicable, and for this purpose they will study attentively the existing social and po-Illical state of the various populations, par-ticularly as regards the forms of local gov ernment, the administration of justice, the collection of customs and other taxes, the means of transportation, and the need of public improvements. They will report * * * the results of their observations and reflections, and will recommend such execu tive action as may from time to time seen to them wise and useful.

to confer authoritatively with any personresident in the islands from whom they may believe themselves able to derive informa tion or suggestions valuable for the pur poses of their commission, or whom they may choose to employ as agents, as may be necessary for this purpose. * * *

Avoided Harsh Measures.

It is my desire that in all their relation with the inhabitants of the islands the cou missioners exercise due respect for all th ideals, customs and institutions of the tribe which compose the population, emphasizing upon all occasions the just and beneficent in tentions of the government of the United

"It is also my wish and expectation that the commissioners may be received in manner due to the honored and authorized representatives of the American Republic duly commissioned on account of their knowledge, skill and integrity as bearers of the good will, the protection and the richest blessings of a liberating rather than a con On the 6th of February, 1899, the treaty

was ratified by the Senate of the United States, and the Congress immediately appropriated \$20,000,000 to carry out its pro-The ratifications were exchanged by the United States and Spain on the 11th

left to us except ignominious retreat.

Had to Remain. "It is not to be conceived of that any American would have sanctioned the surrender of Manila to the insurgents. Our obligations to other nations and to the friendly Filipinos and to ourselves and our flag de manded that force should be met with force. Whatever the future of the Philippines may be, there is no course open to us now except the prosecution of the war until the insurgents are reduced to submission.

"The commission is of the opinion that of the Spanish squadron by Admiral Dewey when it was possible to withdraw our force from the islands either with honor to our selves or with safety to the inhabitants." After the most thorough study of the peo-ples of the archipelago the commission re-

ported, among other things: "Their lack of education and political experience, combined with their rucial and linguistic diversities, disqualify them, in splic of their mental gifts and domestic virtues, to undertake the task of governing the archipelago at the present time. The most that can be expected of them is to co-oper ate with the Americans in the administracenter, and to undertake, subject to American control or guidance (as may be found necessary) the administration of provincial and municipal affairs. * * *

Would Invite Anarchy. "Should our power by any fatality be withdrawn, the commission believes that the government of the Philippines would speedily lapse into anarchy, which would excuse if it did not necessitate, the intervention of other powers, and the eventual division of the islands among them. Only through American occupation, therefore, is the idea of a free, self-governing and united Philippine commonwealth at all conceivable. * * * "Thus the welfare of the Filipines coin-

cides with the dictates of national honor in forbidding our abandonment of the archipelago. We cannot from any point of view scape the responsibilities of government which our sovereignty entaits, and the con mission is strongly persuaded that the perthe greatest biessing to the people of the Philippine Islands."

Satisfied that nothing further could be acomplished in pursuance of their mission until the rebellion was suppressed, and de-siring to place before the Congress the recommission to return to the United States. Their most intelligent and comprehensive report, was submitted to Congress,

Duties of the Commission. In March, 1900, believing that the insur ection was practically ended and earnestly

desiring to promote the establishment of a stable government in the archipelage, I appointed the following civil commission William H. Taft of Ohio, Professor Dean C Worcester of Michigan, Luke I. Wright of Tennessee, Henry C. Ide of Vermont, and Bernard Moses of California. My instruc lons to them contained the following:

"You (the Secretary of War) will instruct the commission " " to devote their at-tention in the first instance to the establishment of municipal governments, in which the natives of the islands, both in the cities and in the rural communities, shall be af-forded the opportunity to manage their own ceal affairs to the fullest extent of which hey are capable and subject to the least degree of supervision and control which a care ful study of their capacities and observation of the workings of native control show to be consistent with the maintenance of law, or-der and loyalty. . .

Awaits the Report.

"Whenever the commission is of the opin on that the condition of affairs in the isi-ands is such that the central administration may safely be transferred from military to civil control they will report that conclusion to you (the Secretary of War), with their personal recommendations as to the form of central government to be established for the purpose of taking over the control. "In order to mitigrate as much as possible consequences resulting from the various disturbances which since 1896 have succeeded each other so rapidly, and to provide in some measure for destitute Flitpino soldiers during the transitory period which must inevitably succeed a general peace, the military authorities of the United States will pay 30 pesos to each man who presents a rine in good condition."

Under their instructions the commission, composed of representative Americans of different sections of the country and from different political parties, whose character and ability guarantee the most faithful intelligence and patriotic service, are now laboring to establish stable government under civil control, in which the linhabitants shall participate, giving them opportunity to demonstrate how far they are prepared for self-government.

Quotes the Commission.

"Beglaning with the 1st day of September, 1800, the authority to exercise, subject to my approval through the Secretary of War, that part of the power of government in the Philippine Islands which is of a legislative nature is to be transferred from the military governor of the islands to this commission, to be thereafter exercised by them in the place and stead of the military governor, underswech rules and regulations as you (the Secretary of War) shall prescribe, until the establishment of the civil central government for the Islands contemplated in the last foregoing paragraph or until Congress shall otherwise provide.

Legislative Authority.

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of primary education which shall be free to all, and which shall tend to fit the people for the duties of citizenship, and for the ordinary avocations of a civilized community.

* * * Especial attention should be at once given to affording full opportunity to all the people of the Islands to acquire the use of the English language.

* * * * Upon all officers and employes of the United States, both civil and military, should be impressed a sense of the duty to observe not merely the material but the personal and social rights of the people of the lislands, and to treat them with the same courtesy and respect for their personal dignity which the people of the United States are accustomed to require from each other.

All Pledges Kept.

"The articles of capitulation of the City of Manila on the 13th of August, 1898, concluded with these words: This city, its inhabitants, its churches, and religious worship, its educational establishments and its private property of all descriptions, are placed under the special safeguard of the faith and honor of the American army."

No Sign of Alliance.

They "are preparing a stringent civil ser-

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"I believe that this pledge has ben faithfully kept. As high and sacred an obligation resis upon the government of the United States to give protection for property and iffe, civil and religious freedom, and wise, firm and unselfish guidance in the paths of peace and prosperity to all the people of the Philippine Islands." I charge this commission is confident that "by a indicious castoms law, reasonable land tax and proper corporation franchise tax, imposition of no greater rate than that in the average American State will give less an noyance and with peace will produce revenues, including militia and constablishing the American army."

No Sign of Alliance.

They "are preparing a stringent civil service 'aw giving equal opportunity to Filipinos and Americans, with preference for the former where qualifications are equal, to enter at the lowest rank and by proundton that through their country, in the first hope that through their concerns the honor and sold gave victory to American arms at Manila and set their land under the sovereignty and the protection of the people of the United States."

Amnesty Proclaimed.

That all might share in the regeneration of the islands and participate in their government. I directed Gen. MacArthur, the military governor of the Philippines, to issue a proclamation of ameesty, which contained among other statements the following.

Manila on the 13th of Angust, 1828, con and province from the property of the former where qualifications are equal, to enter at the lowest rank and by promotion under negotiation will give employment to market to vast stretches of railroad extension under the protection will give employment to market t

ing:

"Manila, P. I., June 21, 1900.—By direction
of the President of the United States the
undersigned announces amnesty, with complete immunity for the past and absolute
iliberty of action for the future, to all persons who are now, or at any time since
Feb. 4, 1899, have been in insurrection
against the United States in either a military or civil capacity, and who shall, within
a period of inlety days from the date thereof, formally renounce all connection with
such insurrection and subscribe to a dec-

Working for Humanity.

"Creation of central government within eighteen months, under which substantially all rights described in the bill of rights in the federal constitution are to be secured to the people of the Philippines, will bring to them contentment, prosperity, education and political enlightenment."

This shows to my countrymen what has been and is being done to bring the benefits of liberty and good government to these wards of the nation. Every effort has been

Civil Service to Rule.

Filipinos Took No Part. On Aug. 13 Manila was captured, and of this and subsequent events the Philippine commission says:
"When the City of Manila was taken, Aug.

Feb. 10, 1900, says that he was present at the interview between Admiral Dewey and the insurgent leader, and that in this interview Admiral Dewey made no promises whatever. He adds:

"He (Aguinaldo) asked me if my government was going to recognize his government. I answered that I was there simply in a military capacity; that I could not acknowledge his government, because I had no authority to do so." Easy to Find Fault

Would not our ndversaries have sent Dewey's fleet to Manila to capture and destroy the Spanish sen power there, or, dispatching it there, would they have withdrawn it after the destruction of the Spanish fleet; and if the latter, whither would they have directed to sail? Where could it have gone? What port in the Orient was opened to it?

Do our adversaries condemn the expedition under the command of General Merritt to strengthen Dewey in the distant ocean and assist in our tringph over Spain, with which nation we were at war? Was it not our highest duty to strike Spain at every vulnerable point, that the war might be successfully concluded at the earliest practicable mement?

Asks for Honest Opinion.

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And was it not our duty to protect the lives and property of those who came within our control by the fortunes of war? Could we have come away at any time between May 1. 1898, and the conclusion of peace without a stain upon our good name? Could we have come away without dishoner at any time after the ratification of the peace treaty by the Senate of the United States?

There has been no time since the destruction of the enemy's fleet when we could or should have left the Philippine archipelago. After the treaty of peace was ratified no power but Congress could surrender our sovereignty or allemate a foot of the territory thus acquired. The Congress has not seen fit to do the one or the other, and the President had no authority to do either, if he had been so inclined, which he was not.

So long as the sovereignty remains in us it is the duty of the executive, whoever he may be, to uphold that sovereignty, and if it be attacked to suppress its assailants. Would our political adversaries do less?

Begun by Insurgents.

It has been asserted that there would have Asks for Honest Opinion.

Begun by Insurgents.

Begun by Insurgents.

It has been asserted that there would have been no fighting in the Philippines if Congress had declared its purpose to give independence to the Tagal Insurgents. The insurgents did not wait for the action of Congress. They assumed the offensive, they opened fire on our army.

Those who assert our responsibility for the beginning of the conflict have forgotten that before the treaty was ratified in the Senate, and while it was being debated in that body, and while the Bacon resolution was under discussion, on Feb. 4, 1899, the insurgents attacked the American army, after being previously advised that the American forces were under orders not to fire upon them except in defense. The papers found in the recently captured archives of the insurgents demonstrate that this attack had been carefully planned for weeks before it occurred.

Only One Course Open.

Only One Course Open.

Their unprovoked assault upon our soldiers at a time when the Senate was deliberating upon the treaty shows that no action on our part except surrender and abandonment would have prevented the fighting, and leaves no doubt in any fair mind where the responsibility rests for the shedding of American blood.

With all the exaggerated phrasemaking of this electoral contest, we are in danger of being diverted from the real contention. We are in agreement with all of those who supported the war with Spain, and also with those who counseled the ratification of the treaty of peace. Upon these two great essential steps there can be no issue, and out of these came all of our responsibilities. If others would shirk the obligations imposed by the war and the treaty, we must decline to act further with them, and here the issue was made.

It is our nursose to establish in the Philip.

was made.

It is our purpose to establish in the Philippines a government suitable to the wants and conditions of the inhabitants, and to prepare them for self-government, and to give them self-government when they are ready for it, and as rapidly as they are ready for it. That I am alming to do under my constitutional authority, and will continue to do until Congress shall determine the political status of the inhabitants of the archipelago.

Plea for Consistency.

"ration acknowleding and accepting the overeignty and authority of the United States in and over the Philippine Islands. The privilege herewith published is extended to all concerned without any reservation whatever, excepting that persofts who have violated the laws of war during the period of active hostilities are not embraced within the scope of this amnesty.

Pay offered for Rifles.

"In order to mitigrate as much as possible consequences resulting from the various disturbances which since 1896 have succeeded.

Civil Service to Rule.

my constitutional authority, and will control the total control the total control the status of the inhabitants of the archipelage can can be consistency.

Are our opponents against the treaty? It is control that the control th Civil Service to Rule.

Nobody who will avail bimself of the facts will longer hold that there was any alliance between our soldlers and the insurgents or that any promise of independence was made to them. Long before their leader had reached Manila they had resolved, if the commander of the American navy would give them arms with which to fight the Spanish army, they would later turn upon us, which they did murderously and without the shadow of cause or justification.

There may be those without the means of full information who believe that we were in alliance with the insurgents and that we assured them that they should have independence. To such let me repeat the facts:

On the 26th of May, 1898, Admiral Dewey was instructed by me to make no alliance with any party or faction in the Philippines that would incur liability to maintain their cause in the future, and he replied under date of June 6, 1898:

"Have acted according to spirit of department's instructions from the beginning, and I have entered into no alliance with the insurgents or with any faction. This squadron can reduce the defenses of Manila at any moment, but it is considered useless until the arrival of sufficient United States forces to retain possession."

Denies Any Compact.

In the report of the first Philippine commission, submitted on Nov. 2, 1889, Admiral Dewey, one of its members, said:

"No alliance of any kind was entered into with Aguinaldo nor was any promise of independence made to him at any time."

General Merritt arrived in the Philippines on July 25, 1898, and a dispatch from Admiral Dewey to the government at Washington said: miral Dewey to the government at Washington said:

"Merritt arrived yesterday. Situation is most critical at Manila. The Spanish may surrender at any moment. Merritt's most difficult problem will be how to deal with the Insurgents under Aguinaido, who have become aggressive and even threatening toward our army."

Here is revealed the spirit of the insurgents as early as July, 1898, before the protocol was signed, while we were still engaged in active war with Spain. Even then the insurgents were threatening our army.

Filipinos Took No Part.

this and subsequent events the Philippine toomnission says:

"Men the City of Manila was taken, Aug. It is most offensive form.

The American people will not make the murderers of our soldiers the agents of the murderers of our soldiers and marines, and to all the brave med who, though assembled under many standards, the Filippines took no part in the attack, but came following in with a view to loot, but came following in with a view to loot, but came following in with a view to loot, but came following in with a view to loot, but came following in with a view to loot, but came form the spaniared of the murderers of our soldiers of the new common went to hundred the property of the churches of Manila, also that a part of the money taken from the Spaniared as a solling that he should be given the arms of the Spaniar of the

Will Defend Our Title.

Will Defend Our Title.

To this we are opposed. We should not yield our title white our obligations last. In the language of our platform, "Our authority should not be less than our responsibility," and our present responsibility is to establish our authority in every part of the islands.

No government can so certainly preserve the peace, restore public order, establish law, justice and stable conditions as ours. Neither Congress nor the Executive can establish a stable government in these islands except under our right of sovereignty, our authority and our flag. And this we are doing.

nuthority and our flag. And this we are deing.

We could not do it as a protectorate power
so completely or so successfully as we are
doing it now. As the sovereign power we
can initiate action and shape means to ends,
and guide the Filipinos to self-development
and self-government.

As a protectorate power we could not initlate action, but would be compelled to follow and uphold a people with no capacity
yet to go alone. In the one case we can protect both ourselves and the Filipinos from
being involved in dangerous complications;
in the other we could not protect even the
Filipinos until after their trouble had come.

Consent of the Governed.

Consent of the Governed.

Besides, if we cannot establish any government of our own without the consent of the governed, as our opponents contend, then we could not establish a stable government for them or make ours a protectorate without the like consent, and neither the majority of the people nor a minority of the people have invited us to assume it. We could not maintain a protectorate even with the consent of the governed without giving provocation for conflict and possibly costly wars.

Our rights in the Philippines are now free from outside interference and will continue so in our present relations. They would not be thus free in any other relation. We will not give up our own to goarantee another sovereignty.

Our title is good. Our peace commissioners believed they were receiving a good title when they concluded the treaty. The executive believed it was a good title when he submitted it to the Senate of the United States for its ratification. The Senate believed it was a good title when he submitted it to the Senate of the United States for its ratification. The Senate believed it was a good title when they gave it their constitutional assent, and the Congress seems not to have doubted its completeness when they appropriated \$20.000,000 provided by the treaty.

Title Is Unquestionable.

Title Is Unquestionable.

Title Is Unquestionable.

If any who favored its ratification believed it gave us a bad title they were not sincere. Our title is practically identical with that under which we hold our territory acquired since the beginning of the government, and under which we have exercised full sovereignty and established government for the inhabitants.

It is worthy of note that no one outside of the United States disputes the fullness and integrity of the cession. What, then, is the real issue on this subject? Whether it is paramount to any other or not, it is whether we shall be responsible for the government of the Philippines, with the sovereignty and authority which enables us to guide them to regulated liberty, law, safety and progress, or whether we shall be responsible for the foreible and arbitrary government of a minority, without sovereignty and authority on our part, and with only the embarrassment of a protectorate, which draws us into their troubles without the power of preventing them.

Obligations of War.

Obligations of War.

There were those who two years ago were rushing us on to war with Spain who are unwilling now to accept its clear consequences, as there are those among us who advocated the ratification of the treaty of peace, but now protest against its obligations. Nations which go to war must be prepared to accept its resultant obligations, and when they make treatles must keep them.

and when they make treatles must keep them.

Those who profess to distrust the liberal and honorable purposes of the administration in its treatment of the Philippines are not justified. Imperiation has no place in its creed or conduct. Freedom is a rock upon which the Republican party was builded and now rests. Liberty is the great Republican doctrine for which the people went to war and for which a million lives were offered and billions of dollars expended to make it a lawful legacy of all without the consent of master or slave.

Strain of Hypocrisy.

The country has been fully advised of the purposes of the United States in China, and they will be faithfully adhered to as already defined.

Intion, which has been loyal to us, to the cruelties of the guerrilla insurgent bands.

Demands Cannot Be Mct.

More than this, we are asked to protect this minority in establishing a government, and to this end repress all opposition of the majority. We are required to set up a stable government in the interest of those who have assailed our sovereignty and fired upon our soidlers, and then maintain it at any cost or sacrifice against its enemies within and against those having ambitious designs from without.

This would require an army and navy far larger than is now maintained in the Philippines and still more in excess of what will be necessary with the full recognition of our sovereignty. A millitary support of authority not our own, as thus proposed, is the very essence of militarism, which our opponents in their platform oppose, but which by their policy would of necessity be established in its most officusive form.

No Premium on Murder.

The American people will not make the murderers of our soldiers the agents of the republic to convey the blessings of liberty and order to the Philippines. They will not make them the builders of the new commonwealth. Such a course would be a betrayal of our sacred obligations to the penceful Fillming and would place at the merce of dar.

Not a cognity has been fully advised of the United States in China, and their William and the United States in China, and their Unit